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# Adam Hawkers 1608-1672 

## His Life and Times

by

Bradley Hawkes Patterson

Lineage Charts by

Helen Gilman Patterson

## $200 ; 251$

Patterson, Bradley Hawkes<br>Adam Hawkes (1608-177?) with story of his life and times

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> Lovingly dedicated
> to the memory of
> the five daughters

of
Sarah Evelyn Johnson Hawkes
and
Benjamin Bradley Hawkes


# Adam Hawkes 

1608-1672

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## FOREWORD

Daniel Webster said . ." The man who feels no sentiment of veneration for the memory of his forefathers, who has no natural regard for his ancestors or kindred, is himself unworthy of kindred regard or remembrance." On the Archives Building in Washington is the inscription . . Past is Prologue. That is to say, in each one of us is at least a trace of the qualities, of spirit, mind and body, of our ancestors.

This tribute to Adam Hawkes, first American of his name, is offered by certain of his tenth generation descendants, hereinafter listed, in the belief that others in his line, now living and to come, may also derive satisfaction and value from its contents.

Although Adam left no diaries or written records of his own, so far as known, significant information regarding his activities and a vast amount of material about his times is available. By combining the two and by combing over various accounts and documents for isolated bits and picces it has been possible to construct a portrait bearing some probable resemblance to the man himself.

We know, to begin with, that he was a farmer, and apparently quite successful. In his first abode, Charlestown, he worked a plot of four acres. In the original division of land in Saugus, or Lynn, in 1638-the name of the town was changed just before this time-he received a tract of 100 acres At his death, January 13, 1671/2, he was possessed of 554 acres which, with

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farm and household tools and equipment, and livestock, inventoried at $\$ 4085$ -a tidy estate for the day.

The dual dating, incidentally, derives from the use of two calendar., during this period, and as late as 1752 . Under the old reckoning the year ended on March 24th. Hence January was the tenth month, February the eleventh and March the last. January 13, 1671/2 could have meant the 13th day of the tenth month of 1671 or the 13th day of the first month of 1672.

We know that Adam's line had the signal distinction of affording the maternal ancestry for two presidents of the United States. The paternal line was that of Adam's contemporary pioneer, Henry Adams. Adam's line also joined with that of Isaac Allerton, a Mayflower passenger on the 1620 voyage and a signer, with forty others, of the famous Mayflower Compact, the first legal basis for acts and ordinances governing settlers on our shores. Allerton served as Lieutenant Governor of Plymouth Colony, 16211625.

Among many sources consulted for material, listed elsewhere herein, the writings of Nathan Hawkes, in the period 1887-1907, have proven especially helpful in their recording of facts about Adam's life. Nathan was an eighth generation descendant in the line of son John and grandson Moses. A study by Professor Clarence K. Shipton of Harvard University, published in 1944, o ${ }^{\circ}$ the life and times of Roger Conant, pioneer of the Salem community; has been extremely valuable in bringing to light and interpreting events and incidents of that day usually ignored or misunderstood by historians of the Puritan era. Professor Shipton cuts the ground from under various shallow beliefs and opinions, in regard to the problems and actions of the early settlers, that have obtained acceptance over the years.






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hawkes - ADAMS PRESIDENTIAL LINEAGE




## WHERE HE CAME FROM

Adam's birthplace in England does not appear to be known, in this country. The Hawkes name appears in several localities, Bedford, Cambridge and London. English Custom House records, covering ship sailings of the day, sometimes showed places of origin and destination of the passengers. But Charles E. Banks in his "Planters of the Commonwealth", published in 1930, states that these records are far from complete.

One of the earliest writers, Captain Edward Johnson of Woburn, whose "Wonder Working Providence" was published in 1654, states that 80 percent of those who came over in the Great Migration, 1630-1643, were from counties lying between the Channel and The Wash, that is East Anglia. Still another writer suggests that those who settled in the Lynn, Saugus area probably came from similar terrain in England. Without much question that would be The Wash, fen country or land reclaimed from the sea, exfonding some 70 miles through Norfolk and Lincolnshire Counties. The derivation of the name Lynn also points to this area. It was taken from King's Lynn, Norfolk County, home of the Reverend Samuel Whiting, an early pastor of the Tunnel Church in Lynn, who preached the sermon at Adam's funeral.

Incidentally this entire section of Massachusetts first bore the name Saugus. In 1637 it was re-named Lynn, or, to quote Governor Dudley, "Saugust is called Lin." In 1644 a part was set off and named Reading, in 1782 another part, named Lynnfield and, in 1815, the name Saugus re-appeared, for still another section.

Adam did not come directly to Saugus, settling first at Charlestown. $V$ ihen he did come, apparently $1635-36$, it is conceivable that one of the reasons for his choice was that the marshes reminded him of home.

Further research, probably in England, will be necessary to establish Adam's birthplace but pending such determination the most reasonable guess is that he was an East Anglian, very possibly from Norfolk or Lincolnshire Counties.

## WHY HE CAME

Nathan writes that one, Thomas Hawkes, was burned at the stake during the reign of Queen "Bloody" Mary, 1553-1558. About 300, including five bishops and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, were destroyed during Mary's brief but violent effort to restore Catholic authority in England which Henry the Eighth, her father, had dis-established in 1533. While Nathan does not trace the relationship, if any, between Adam and Thomas Hawkes it is not unreasonable to believe that there was some and perhaps direct. England was a small and comparatively close-knit nation with family strains going back many centuries.

In any event it is probable that Adam, as a boy in the early 1600s, had been told about that tragic era by his parents or grandparents. And he was almost certainly made aware of the religious strife under Queen Elizabeth who shortly followed Mary to the throne. Elizabeth restored the Church of England to authority but, while no Bloody Mary, frowned on dissenters. In

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1583, twenty-five years before Adam was born, two Separatist leaders were hanged, whereupon many members of this sect fled to Holland.

Adam, it seems likely, was no Separatist. When he came over he did not settle at Plymouth, a stronghold of the Separatists. Farmers, generally, in those days, as now, were more conservative than city dwellers. And Adam was a farmer. But he certainly was a Puritan. It was, after all, a Puritan migration and while, as time went on, many came for economic reasons, to get land, at the outset the motivation was primarily religious.

The Puritans embraced several sects. The most numerous and, it seems fair to think, the one to which Adam adhered, supported the Church of England, but sought reforms. They opposed retention of certain ceremonials and vestments carried over from the time that the Catholic Church was the state or established church. That is, they wanted the Church of England "purified". Then there were the Scotch Presbytereans who had a well-defined church form. And there were the Separatists, distinguished chiefly for their lack of special vestments, ceremonials and ruling heirarchy.

## A THREATENING PROSPECT

But all Puritan sects were united in opposing restoration of the Catholic church as the established church. As Adam's boyhood progressed he must have absorbed some of the feeling of uneasiness on this account spreading among English Puritans. James, the First, who succeeded Elizabeth on the throne in 1603, had married his daughter to a leader of the German Protestants but was seeking to marry his son, and heir to the throne, Charles, to the infanta of Spain, a Catholic. The mother of James, Mary Queen of Scots, whom Elizabeth sent to the Tower, had been a Catholic. "Bloody Mary" had had a Spanish spouse.

Ringing in the ears of English youngsters of the times were tales of the exploits of Sir Francis Drake who, in 1588, only twenty years before Adam was born, had turned back the Spanish Armada, 33,000 strong. According to Professor Shipton's research, prior to that portentous conflict, there could have been observed, piled on French beaches, mountainous heaps of faggots ready to be brought across the Channel for the burning of English heretics, in event of a Spanish victory. Small wonder that the possibility of renewed Spanish and Catholic influence at the throne, whe Charles succeeded, as he did in 1625, brought foreboding into Puritan households.

## WHEN HE CAME

According to Banks there was only an occasional trip across, with comparatively few passengers, in the years immediately following the Mayflower voyage of 1620 . But the disbanding of Parliament in 1629, by Charles, providing unmistakable warning of the turmoil ahead, which was to culminate in Civil War, afforded powerful impetus to the migrating urge of the Puritans. The first wave of what became a flood was the voyage organized and headed by John Winthrop, later Governor, whose fleet of eleven ships set sail in the spring of 1630 . Five, led by the flagship "Lady Arbella",



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#### Abstract

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put out in April and made port in Salem Harbor on June 12th. The other six sailed in May and arrived in July.

James Savage, early genealogist and authority, and one-time president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, states that Adam Hawkes probably came with Winthrop. Nathan Hawkes, perhaps relying on this same authority, also so claims. In Banks' study of the passengers on the Winthrop voyage appears the name "Hawke", no first name, place of origin or destination. In connection with this spelling too much significance should not apply. Early recorders were often inconsistent in such matters. Even in Adam's will there are two spellings "Hauks" and "Hawks". Passenger "Hawke" could well have been Adam.

Along the Newburyport T'urnpike, where it passes through North Saugus, stands a sign bearing the name Adam Hawkes, the date 1630, and the legend "President John Adams was his grandson." (Actually he was a great, great, great grandson). Weighing all evidence it is likely that June 12,1630 is as valid a date as we can now settle on for Adam's arrival and it is one obviously accepted by good authority.

## HOW HE CAME

In 1630 one did not just saunter down to the dock and board a ship for America. There was no such thing as passenger travel on the high seas. Ocean voyages were for trade, or plunder, and frequently involved combat. The English, like the Spanish, felt the need for trade, and, the throne, for precious metals, such as Spain had obtained in great quantities, to strengthen the currency. The patent, or charter, issued by James, father of Charles, to the London Company, which settled Plymouth, provided for payment to the crown of one-fifth of all gold and silver found.

Charles, of course, had no love for the Puritans. Not a few of their leaders had to disguise themselves or be smuggled aboard ship in order to get across. But, if there were to be colonies to produce this wealth, there had to be people willing to colonize and develop the new areas. The Puritans. with their strong religious motivation, were such people.

Among the migrants were some of high birth and wealth, well able to finance their passage, which cost from six to ten pounds, thirty to fifty dollars, each. But the great majority were of the middle class, farmers or tradesmen, like Adam, with little, or no money. Few, if any, of the voyages would have been possible without financing supplied through sale of stock to English merchants and investors, in the hope of profit.

But, if short on money, the voyageurs were long on courage. Their craft were small, as a rule, not over 200 to 400 tons draft, inclined to pitch and roll even in moderate seas. Cabin accommodations were primarily for ships' officers. The crew, of course, bunked below. This left only the open decks for the passengers. To keep from being washed overboard in heavy weather they had to lash themselves and their belongings to the rails. Small wonder that many were ill and weakened on arrival, in no condition to take up the struggle for existence facing them as they came ashore.

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Of course no gold or silver was found and what trade developed resulted in little or no return on the capital invested. Professor Charles W. Wright of the University of Chicago, in his "Economic History of the United States" slates that, for the Virginia colony, about 200,000 pounds, perhaps equivalent to ten million dollars today, was advanced over the seventeen years, 1607-1624, proving a total loss, the charter being taken back by the crown in 1624. Of over 5,000 people that embarked for this destination in this period. iccording to Wright, there were only 1100 surviving in 1625.

The Massachusetts settlements, or "plantations" as they were called, sustained no such heavy loss of life and they retained control over their charters until 1685, when James the Second seized them. In 1627 the Plymouth Colony bought out the English investors for 1800 pounds, Wright states. Still this was probably a pittance in relation to the initial investment.

An important reason for the somewhat better showing of the Massachusetts settlements could have been their strong sense of organization and management. One of their earliest moves was to adopt a form of local government and select leaders to administer it. As one result vital statistics records and reports, covering the early 1630 s and onward, are available for consultation, today.

## ADAM AND ANN

Records for Charlestown, however, were apparently destroyed when the British burned the town, June 17, 1775. The earliest officially recorded Hawkes date is 1633 , when the twins, John and Susanna, were born. While this is carried in the Lynn records Adam could well have reported the births to Lynn authorities after he settled there. Conditions in Charlestown in the early 1630 s were rather grim as will appear later.

Lynn records also show that Adam had four children born "before 1660 ", one of whom was named John. Since there is no further information in regard to these, marriages or deaths, and since there is ample information about the John born in 1633 who matured and carried on the line, it follows that the "before 1660 " John must have been born before 1633, probably 1631-1632, and died in infancy. Large families and high infant mortality were common in those days. Also it was not unusual for parents to retain the name of a child that had died and give it to one born later.

The mother of all of Adam's children, but one, was Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, a widow with four children by her first husband, Francis, Samuel, Thomas and Edward, one mentioned in later accounts of Adam's life and all in his will. When and where did Adam marry Ann? It might perhaps have been in England, before they crossed. It is a little difficult to believe, however: that a lad of only 22 would have married a widow with four children and then set about to take them all across the ocean to a strange and probably hazardous life. It is even less likely that Ann, accompanied only by her brood, would have been permitted to make the trip by those in charge. A more reasonable supposition emerges from consideration of events in Charles town directly after arrival there.
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## SURVIVAL AT CHARLESTOWN

The first large group to come, totalling about 200 , were passengers on the "Mary and John", arriving about a month ahead of the Winthrop flect Like Winthrop they had dropped anchor in Salem Harbor but soon reaiized that limited food supplies and housing made it necessary for chem to move on.

When the Winthrop party, some 500 to 700 , reached Charlestown, July 1st, 1630, they found conditions in a deplorable state. About 60 of the first group had succumbed and the rest were in weak condition. No planting had been done and the season was now advanced. Just as bad was the lack of fresh water. There was only one spring, brackish because located on the beach, and useable only at low tide. Housing was largely non-existent.

The Winthrop party did what they could to retrieve the situation. We can picture Adam and his companions swinging an ax or pushing a saw to help build the "great house" of which Winthrop writes, and which gave shelter to many. Many others, however, had less favorable accommodations, tents, abandoned wigwams, flimsy booths, or caves hollowed out of the hillside with coverings of hangings or perhaps planks. This was not a $\log$ cabin economy.

With cold weathe:. setting in, and food and housing shortages unrelieved, the death toll mounted rapidly and most set out to seek other locations. The largest exodus was led by Winthrop, across the Charles River to Boston, then called Shawmut and inhabited only by the Reverend William Blaxton. Poston had a good water supply. Winthrop, it is recorded, dismantled and took with him the "great house". Others went to Cambridge, Watertown, Dorchester and elsewhere in the belief that they could not do much, if any worse and might do better.

The Reverend Josiah Bartlett, historian, writes that at one time in 1630-31 only seventeen families remained in Charlestown. He states that 200 died, with survivors reduced to subsisting on clams, acorns, anything єdible that the land afforded.

It was during this period and under these conditions, the evidence suggests, that Adam met and married Ann, whose first husband, it is reasonable to assume, had been among the victims of that terrible experience. Adam, youthful and vigorous, foraged untiringly in the forests and on the shore, determined that he and his would survive somehow and carry on what had been started in this forbidding land.

The crisis passed in February, 1631, with the arrival of the ship "Lyon" bringing provisions. In her welcome cargo was a shipment of lemons, highly beneficial to those suffering from scurvy. This voyage, in its way, was as historic as that of the Santa Maria in 1492 and the Mayflower in 1620 It probably meant the diference between life and death for most if not all the towns in the Boston area. Certainly it was a vital event for the Hawkes family.

Direct evidence of Adam's presence in Charlestown is given in the writings of historians Richard Frothingham, Jr., Thomas B. Wyman and Reverend

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Charles H. Pope, all of whom show him on a list of residents as of 1634 Pope states that Ann joined the church there September 21st of that year. Frothingham and Savage also place Adam in Charlestown January 1, 1635/6, Savage adding, however, that Adam sold his four acres of "planting. ground to N. Easton and J. Sibley."

## THE MOVE TO SAUGUS

Just when Adam moved from Charlestown is not defined in any known record but it is reasonable to suppose he would not have long remained there after selling his land, source of vital food supply. In making his decision to leave he must have felt that he had a bookful of reasons. With the arrival of the twins, John (the second) and Susanna, he now had eight mouths to fill. He had to have more land but equally important there had to be enough water for crops and livestock. The loss of his first-born, John, gave the place sad associations.

There were other trying experiences in those early years although hardly peculiar to Charlestown. The winter of $1632-33$ was so cold Boston Harbor froze solid to the near-by islands. In 1633 there was a visitation of the 17 -year locusts. In August, 1635 oecurred the first Masssachusetts hurricane on record with 20 -foot tides and thousands of trees felled.

Adam could have first heard about Saugus from a brother-in-law, Nicholis Brown, who, according to Nathan Hawkes, lived over there. Nicholas perhaps told him of the anticipated division of land, which did take place in 1638, and in which Adam shared. And, of course, if Adam came from The Wash, the Saugus terrain could have seemed familiar and attractive to him.

Shipton writes that at first practically all travel was by water. For boats the settlers used hollowed-out logs, an art they had learned from the Indians. Birch bark canoes were not in their scheme. Either these Indians did not know how to make them or they were too dangerous to use in the choppy waters of harbors and inlets.

By water Adam's trip would have been at least twenty miles, down the Charles River, through Boston Harbor and, by whatever passages were then in use, to the North Shore, thence to Lynn or Saugus Harbor and up the winding Saugus River some five miles to the spot he had chosen.

Shipton also states that some roads began to be broken through by the mid-1630s. Overland Adam's trip would have been much shorter, about eight miles, but that would have required fording the Mystic River. And it was still wild country with wolves and rattlesnakes about. The twins were doubtless old enough to walk but would have needed help over many a rough spot.

One record has it that he did come by water and ihis seems the most reasonable choice, but, by whatever method he used, Adam faced perils and difficulties on the journey, especially since more than one, maybe several trips would have been required to move the entire brood, Ann, the twins, the four step-children and all their household belongings and farm tools, food and supplies. Yet whatever the problems and hazards Adam and Ann could have had few regrets at shaking the dust of Charlestown from their feet.

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## FIRE IN THE NIGHT

Nathan writes that Adam built his cabin on a knoll about a quarter of a mile from the Saugus River. We can assume that he had first made sure of an ample supply of water in the vicinity. Across the river there was an Indian settlement.

But Lynn was to bring its problems too. Adam and Ann awoke one frigid winter night to find their cabin afire. With armsful of children they rushed out into the snow. They were thankful no lives were lost but all their possessions were consumed.

Fires were a frequent and destructive hazard for the settlers. Back home houses were of stone and winters less severe. Here wood was chiefly used, with only enough brick, brought over as ballast, for chimney construction. To fight the biting cold the tempation was to over-load the fireplaces with logs, hence chimneys became overheated and timbers ignited.

Nathan states that Adam lay hold on some shingles and fashioned crude snow shoes which he bound to Ann's feet and his own. Carrying, or leading the children they made their way through the snow about a mile and a half to the home of brother-in-law Nicholas Brown.

How long it took is not known, but, in time, Adam built another, more substantial and commodious home on the plain nearby. Meanwhile, we assume, the family lived with Nicholas or were perhaps distributed around among the neighbors until the new house was ready.

Adam's house stoed for over two centuries, according to Nathan. When torn down a brick was found in the chimney structure bearing the designation " 1601 ", probably indicating the year of manufacture, in England, some time after which it was brought over as ballast in one of the early voyages to America.

## RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS

The colonists have been condemned as unjust and cruel in their dealings with the Indians. Yet, by legislative enactment, individuals were forbidden to purchase land without permission of authorities, they had to pay prices reflecting prevailing values and grant the Indian sellers rights to hunt, fish and gather wild fruits from any lands transferred. Governor Winthrop wrote, about mid-century, that all lands acquired had been fairly purchased even where there was doubt whether the Indians who were parties to the transactions had actually lived on or used them.

Lewis's history of Lynn relates that one, Thomas Dexter, claimed that lee had purchased Nahant from an Indian for a suit of clothes and exhibited a deed. Lynn protested in court and, in time, the claim was disallowed. In 1657 Lynn appointed a committee, one of whose members was Adam Hawkes to lay out Nahant into "planting lotts". . ." for the benefit of all the people no man more than another."

Of course in any large company there are bound to be a few vicious or unprincipled persons. Sailors from passing ships sought to barter liquo" and firearms for furs. On the other side, some Indian tribes, like the

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'larrentines who lived to the north, were warlike and murderous. Many an early colonist fell victim to unprovoked killing or kidnapping.

The Pequots who lived nearest were generally peaceful but occasionally became incited or liquored up and went on rampages. Yet the colonists acted with restraint. They endured attacks in 1632, 1634 and 1636, with a number killed or captured and tortured to death, before they moved. Then, in 1636/7, Governor Endicott organized a company, including 21 from Lym under Captain Nathaniel Turner, and marched on the Pequots, destroying two of their villages. For some forty years following, or until King Philip's War in 1675, the settlers and Indians lived in comparative peace.

Winthrop writes that in December, 1633, an epidemic of small-pox broke out. Strangely, the whites were largely immune but the Indians suffered severely. Settlers went into Indian villages to help in any way they could The Rev. John Maverick took many Indian children into his home to nurs? them back to health. Illustrating Indian losses, Winthrop says Maverick and his associates dug graves and buried thirty Indians in a single day.

There were also the well-known good works of the Reverend John Eliot, who wrote the Indian Bible. And there were many instances, at Plymouth. Charlestown and elsewhere, where the Indians provided the colonists with food and taught them the lore of the woods and waters.

Shipton states that the Indians often evidenced a consuming curiosity about the settlers. Two or three of them might come up to a cabin, stick their heads through the window-glass was a rarity-and stare at the family engaged in their household activities. Invited in, they would stand about the room, watching the strange people sitting on stools about a table, eating with implements in their hands. Or at night a passing brave might come in and bed down before the fire. He would be up and away early, perhaps leaving a small fur piece in token of his appreciation. We can well imagine that the first few times such things happened at the Hawkes abode Ann was rather upset.

## THE TUNNEL CHURCH

Nathan states when Adam died the Reverend Samuel Whiting, pastor of the Tunnel Church at Lynn, preached the sermon at his funeral. There is no membership record but it is almost certain that Adam and Ann were members. At a meeting held in 1692 John was voted a "seat at the table", of this church.

The building was of peculiar design, built in a hollow, with part of the structure below ground level. One entered by descending a flight of steps Location and architecture could have been a result of the 1635 hurricane when many buildings were blown down. Pews were plain benches; later enclosed so that foot warmers could be used. In the gallery was a pew for slaves. Under a 1645 law buying and selling of slaves was prohibited in Massachusetts, "except those taken in lawful war or reduced to servitude for their crimes by judicial sentence." In 1780, when slavery was abolished in New England, Lynn had 26.

First pastor was the Reverend Stephen Bachiller, followed in 16:36, by




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the Reverend Whiting. Sermons ran from one to two hours, the only check being the turning over of the hour glass by the sexton in a location visible from the pulpit. Outside was a set of bilbows or stocks used for such offenses as chewing tobacco or sleeping in church. In 1682 the Tunnel Church was moved to Lynn Common and rebuilt.

The early church iollowed the Congregationalist pattern created by the Separatists in England. All power was vested in the members. Ministers were chosen by the "laying on of hands." Adam might well have preferred more formalism and ritual. Yet the Separatists had come first. Introduction of a form like the Church of England would have involved creating an American hierarchy, with ncw procedures and methods. Other sects and divisions would then have followed, creating the threat of dissension and bitterness in their little commonwealth of 4000 or 5000 souls like that which had led to strife and bloodshed in the Old World. At that juncture the sensible move seemed to be a compromise on a single pattern, which, in its simplicity, did violence to no sect.

## THE CASE OF ROGER WILLIAMS

But Adam, like many others, must have been troubled when the Reverend Roger Williams came into prominence. Popular opinion has martyrized Williams as a forward-looking leader driven out by narrow-minded, intolerant Puritans. From Author Shipton's research a quite different picture emerges.

Williams had come on the "Lyon" in 1631 and was welcomed in Boston as replacement for the Reverend Francis Higginson, who had perished in Charlestown. He soon began to demonstrate his own particular brand of tolerance by demandirg expansion of church powers to deal with Sabbath breaking, blasphemey and idolatry, then under civil control.

After the terrible experiences of $1630-31$ it is doubtful if the settlers were deeply concerned over such problems. In any event, their leanings, as will later appear, were away from not towards greater church powers.

Williams then lit into those members of the Boston church who had been affiliated with the Church of England on the other side. He demanded they publicly declare their repentance for such association. This from the figure who has been heralded down through the years as the great apostle of tolerance and victim of Massachusetts bigotry. And in face of the fact that many, if not most of these people, would have preferred some church form more like the Church of England in the colony but had compromised on the Congregational pattern for the sake of harmony among the settlers.

By request or otherwise Williams shortly took off for Plymouth where, if anywhere, he should have been able to fit in. But, in late 1633, Governor Bradford sent him on his way with this estimate, according to Shipton. "a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts but very unsettled in judgement." Salem then received him and proved to be the scene of his most irrational and potentially dangerous behavior.

The settlers held their land by authority of a patent or charter issued by the king. Even though they mistrusted or hated Charles and most had migrated to escape his tyranny they were still English subjects and their





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#### Abstract

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legal rights stemmed from the throne. Williams was either ignorant of or unconcerned about this hard fact. He launched an attack on the validity of the land titles, claiming they were worthless because based on royal edict.

The Salem leaders quickly sensed the grave threat if such charges should come to the ears of the king and cause him to withdraw the charter. A century and a half later the colonists, three million strong, were to defy the throne and declare their independence. But this was $1633-34$, they numbered only a few thousand and were still dependent for many things on help from the other side.

Williams was persuaded to recant and even took an oath of allegiance to the throne, but soon returned to his former course, attacking the charte: the land titles and former affiliates of the Church of England in the colony. Still Salem continued to endure him until, in 1635, he outdid himself in eccentricity and egotism He attacked all the churches of the colony, claiming they were full of "anti-christian pollution" and refusing to have anything to do with them. He had now clearly outlived any usefulness he might have had. His exile was in fact as much self imposed as decreed by the settlers. As is well-known, he went to Rhode Island where, according to Shipton, he ran true to form, at one time declaring that he alone knew the truth and "refusing to have communion with all save his own wife."

## IRON AND WATER

In 1642 Adam Hawkes joined with his fellow townsmen in welcoming the beginning of work on what was to be the first productive industrial establishment in the colony, an iron furnace and forge, located in Lynn. Professor Wright states that it was financed in London with an initial capital of 1000 pounds, or 5,000 dollars, and had a capacity of about eight tons a week. chiefly pots and kettles and some pig iron which were cast into bars and shapes.

In 1655 the first money of the colony, the Pine Tree shilling, was cast from dies made here. Devoid of any reference to the throne this coin was, in effect, the first act of independence taken by the colonists. Parts for the first fire engine made in America were cast at this plant.

The history of the ironworks and of their restoration in 1954 is graphically told in a booklet published by the First Ironworks Association of Saugus of which Miss M. Louise Hawkes is Clerk. Miss Hawkes is a descendant of Adam through son John, grandson Thomas and great-grandson Elkannah. She worked for some thirty years to gain support for this project, finally enlisting the sponsorship of the American Iron and Steel Institute who supplied financing for the reconstruction.

The ironworks was located on the Saugus River near Adam's land and, according to the research of Miss Hawkes, Adam supplied the first ore used by the plant, having two deposits on his property. In those days iron ore was obtained from bogs. He also supplied timbers used to support the furnace and forge structures and for beams and rafters in the house erected for the ironmaster.


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As time went on Adam came to view the plant with mixed emotions To obtain power to drive the ponderous water wheel the operators dammed up the Saugus River, which caused flooding of Adam's land. According to L.ewis the first such instance was in 1646, affecting three acres. In 1651 the height of the dam was raised and six acres were flooded: Adam filed suit and was awarded damages of eight pounds. In 1652 the dam was raised again, and ten acres were flooded. Again Adam sued, obtaining a judgement of seven pounds, plus ar annual award of ten shillings. In 1660 there was more of the same and a third time Adam filed suit, alleging that the waters had risen so high the bridge near his house was broken and its planking "made sweym" about. Adam further stated that his corn crop was ruined. his tobacco lands much injured and his wells flooded. He received the largest judgement yet, an annual payment of ten pounds. In some of these actions Adam was joined, or perhaps represented by step-son Thomas Hutchinson.

While the mists of time have obscured various parts of the Adam Hawkes story, as for most other early pioneers as well, it is a fair question whether, in the net, Adam's transactions with the ironworks were on the credit or debit side. The research of Miss M. Louise Hawkes discloses no record of payments made to Adam by the plant for the ore he supplied There are records, however, of unpaid bills for timbers he provided for the furnace and forge. It seems quite possible, however, that he may have received consideration in kind, that is pots and kettles or other iron products for his household or farm. Much of the economy of the early settlers rested on barter. In regard to the lawsuits there is one record claiming that Adam obtained his compensation in the form of annual transfers of wood and hay.

Miss Hawkes states that despite the periodic legal forays Adam's relations with the plant management were cordial and he made many visits to the works. Operations at the plant continued until the 1680 s with declining production in the later years. Presumably newer and more efficient establishments had by then come into being. Many of the men who received their training at Saugus, it is recorded, went out and set up for themselves. It was truly the mother of American industry but a mixed blessing in the affairs of Adam Hawkes.

## THE LATER YEARS

Regarding Adam's other experiences and life in Lynn, the records and history books appear generally silent, apart from one notation that in 1660 fe was drawn to serve as a member of the grand jury. We may readily presume, however, that he was fully occupied in the management of his property. Even today a tract of 554 acres, farm and woodland, in New England would be considered a substantial enterprise. Devoid of tractors and other power tools and equipment it must have been a major operation to care for and keep productive three centuries ago.

How this acreage was acquired, other than by grant of the 100 acres in 1638 can only be guessed at. It could have been by further grant, by pur chase from the Indians, or other settlers. It is not indicated whether any of it was located in Nahant in the partition of which Adam served the town, as

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stated, and which land might have been apportioned to those already located in Lynn, including Adam.

As farmers have done for centuries Adam utilized his corn, hay and livestock to produce butter, cheese, milk, pork and beef products. Tobacco was his cash crop and doubtless enabled him to buy household and farm equipment and furnishings of many types available from the local economy and from imports coming in from the homeland. In the earliest days use of toLacco was banned but this prohibition was shortly lifted.

Adam's labor supply, apart from his own exertions, were the boys, son John, and the four step-sons, Francis, Samuel, Thomas and Edward, who were reaching their maturity in the mid-1640s and 1650 s . The oldest of them might have helped him build the big house erected sometime after the cabin burned. From time to time they must have put up barns, sheds and other structures to care for the animals, feed, supplies and tools. Perhaps by the late 1650 s and early 1660s the step-sons took wives unto themselves and Adam cut off plots from his holdings for them upon which they built dwellings. While Adam had 554 acres at the end there is nothing to show that he might not have owned still more land prior to his death and made this use of it. A leir guess would be, however, that when John was married, in 16ñ, he and his bride staid on with Adam and Ann.

## ADAM'S LINE EXTENDED

Accepting the Lynn record that Adam had four children "before 1660 ," other than the twins, and that one of them, John, had arrived, and remained. in Charlestown, it must follow that the other three, Adam, Benjamin and Thomas came and went in the period 1636-1650. In this connection it is interest ing to note the name, Thomas, appearing for one of the children of John, the twin, and Benjamin, further down in John's line, the sixth generation.

In 1657 the grandchildren began to come along, first Susanna, daughter of Susanna, the twin, and William Cogswell of Ipswich, whom she married in 1649 when she was 16 . Susanna Cogswell was destined to be the great-grand mother of President John Adams.

Assurance that the Hawkes name would be carried on came in 1659 with the birth of Moses, son of John and the former Rebecca Maverick, whom he had married the year before. Rebecca, however, gave her life for that of the boy. She was twenty, daughter of Moses and Remember Allerton Maverick, of Marblehead. In 1661 John re-married, taking for his bride Rebecca's cousin, Sarah Cushman, born in Plymouth in the late 1630s, daughter of Elder Thomas and Mary Allerton Cushman.

Over the next decade two more boys and three girls arrived in John's home, Susanna, 1662, Adam, 1664, Ann, 1666, John, 1668 and Rebecca, 1670. 'There were to be three more, Thomas, 1673, Mary, 1675, and Ebenezer, 1677 but Adam was to be denied earthly knowledge of them. So was he spared the grevious blow that fell in 1675 when, in a single year, three of the four girls, Susanna, Ann and Rebecca died.

In naming their children, as in various other respects, the Puritan practice was to favor the Biblical rather than their Anglo-Saxon heritage. A review of two of Adam's lines as far down as the seventh generation shows, for the boys, the name Adam appearing five times, John, seven, Benjamin, four, Thomas

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three, Moses, two and Nathan, two. Yet there seem to be none named Edward Robert, Harold, Henry, Richard, Alfred, George or Charles and only one James. In girls' names Rebecca, Sarah and Mary are used repeatedly, but no Helen, Catherine, Grace, Gladys, Alice, Louise or Edith.

In 1669 death knocked on Adam's door, calling his partner of so many difficult and purposeful years. Ann was laid to rest probably on some quiet spot on Adam's acres near perhaps Adam, Benjamin and Thomas.

The Puritans even in darkest moments never forgot that they were building a new country. Its success depended upon people and most of them, especially Adam Hawkes, had seen times when it was touch and go whether there would be enough people left to carry on the mission. In 1670, at the age of 32 , Adam re-married. His bride was Sarah Hooper, 20, daughter of William Hooper and wife, Elizabeth, of Reading. William had come over on the "James" in 1635. On June 1, 1671, Adam's last child, a girl, was born and given her mother's name, Sarah.

## L'ENVOI

On January 13, 1671/2 Adam Hawkes, aged 64, went to his reward, his work in helping to establish and sustain the colony finished. His body presumably was placed next to Ann's and those of the "before 1660" boys.

Author Nathaniel Shurtleff, in his history of Boston, published in 1891, says that news of a death in the early days was spread widely. Relatives from far and near assembled at the home of the deceased. The body, encased in plain pine or hemlock coffin, would be carried to the place of interment by bearers, followed by mourners, two by two, man and woman, boy and girl, usually gloved and perhaps carrying black bordered handkerchiefs. Some might wear rings inscribed with the name, age and date of death of the deceased. There would be no services at the grave, however. All would return ta the home where there would be a family reunion with refreshments, wines, and beer.

On the following Sunday would come the services, in church, with prayers and a funeral sermon or eulogy. For Adam, the pioneer, we may justly believe. Pastor Whiting did not lack material for laudatory and truthful appraisal.

## THE WILL

The Puritans also rejected English practice with respect to wills where, under the rule of primogeniture, all property customarily would be left to the first-born son. According to Essex County Probate Court records, Adam Hawkes directed that Sarah, his widow, receive nine-score acres of upland "not joining the farm" and eight acres of "medow", plus one-third of all the moveables. Apparently Adam's acreage was not all in one parcel. Sarah, the infant daughter, was to have four score and ten pounds, payable five pounds a year for eight years and fifty pounds at her marriage.

Susanna's husband, William Cogswell, was bequeathed, on her behalf, four score and ten pounds, payable ten pounds yearly, in cattle or goods. Moses, John's first-born, then about twelve, was to have one-half of the farm at Lynn, but, if he pleased, was to pay for the value of the housing thereon. when he came of age. The "Huchisson" boys, Ann's children by her first husband, received five pounds each, in corn or cattle, except "Frances" who received twenty pounds, in corn, cattle or goods. One, Elizabeth Hart, not otherwise identified but perhaps a relative of Ann or Sarah, or possibly a

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domestic servant attached to Adam's household, received five pounds. John reeived the residue.

The will was witnessed by "Sarah X (her mark) Hawks, ffrancis Hutchinson, Moses Maverick, William Cogswell." It was probated March 27 1672. . ."this aproved, alowed, and confirmed by the cowrt to all the ptyes in court att Ipswich the 27 of March 1672 Robert Lord cler."

THE INVENTORY
The inventory was endorsed "a true inventory of the estat of Mr. Adam Hawkes deceased taken this 18 of March 1671/2." "This inventory was taken by us whose nams are under written the day and year above wrighten witness our hands Thomas Newhall, Jeremiah Sweyen."

For the interesting light that is thrown on the accomplishments and mode of living of Adam and his family the property statement is given below in its quaint, semi-phonetic spelling.

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| In a bedsteed and ffether bed and flfock bed, 2 fether pillows an |  |  |
| on blanket abd sheetts and curtains and vallance and ane Imbroadered couerlid | 14 | 0 |
| an other bedsteed an be ding belonging to it | 7 | 10 |
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| other bed and bedsteed | 3 | 0 |
| bras and pewter <br> Iron potts and kettells one pare of Andirons pare of trammells tow |  |  |
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|  |  |  |
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| And to muskits and tow small ffowling p.cs. tow rest heads | 3 | 15 |
| To thre swords one wach bill one ould belt And one pistell and |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| To one cubbard one Joynd Chear one Chest |  |  |
| Table cloth and napkins and tow snapsacks |  |  |
| in to a bible and other books ....................... |  |  |
| one press tow small tables tow chairs | 2 | 8 |
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| A peas of black cloth | 1 | 6 |
| cart wheells plow and yoke chayns levis and pin beatell and tow |  |  |
| weges nd one forke and part of a cart Roop | 5 | 18 |
| nd to fowr. Oxcen |  |  |
| Seven Cows with tow sucking calfs | 24 | 10 |
| one tow yerling and tow yerlings | 4 | 5 |
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| Sixteen Swyn one with another | 9 | 0 |
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| loking glas and baskett | 0 | 7 |
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| bout nyn Hundred of boards and thre stoks of bees. <br> five hundred and ffuty Akers of land and medow by estimation |  |  |
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Mute witness to the back-breaking labor expended in clearing, planting and harvesting Adam's Akers is born in such listings as the sith, sikell, croscut saws, Axces, oxcen, yoke, plow and chayns. His nyn hundred boards would be enough to stock a small lumber yard. When the boys went out with the ffowling pes. it is not difficult to assume that the larder usually became enriched with game they brought down. Military service of some order is clearly indicated by the muskitts, pistell, swords and drum, bearing also in mind the need for constant watchfulness against possible visits of hostile Indians and occasional raids by marauding wolf packs on the Swyn, yerlings and calls.

The kettels, spitt, Iron Potts and friing pan, which were probably obtained from the local ironworks, must have been used in the preparation of countless hearty meals by Ann and Susanna, and later Sarah. The bibla and books reflect the place of religion and culture in their lives although, in those days, only boys received formal education. As a whole the property listings portray a household and farm well supplied with the goods afforded by the Puritan economy, not forgetting an item like the loking glas into which the women doubtless peered many a time while getting ready for church or some festive occasion.

In sum, the portrait that emerges of Adam Hawkes is that of a man of courage, energy and determination, ambitious to improve his lot in life and thereby strengthen the colony of which he was a part, and successful in that cffort. When called he served his community, as in the land distribution and the jury duty. He was conscious of his own rights also, as indicated in the lawsuits. Adam lived a life of honor and accomplishment.

## ADAM HAWKES FOREFATHER OF PRESIDENTS

Granddaughter Susanna, in 1681, married Benjamin White of Brookline. The Whites' daughter, Ann, born in 1685, married "before 1705 " Peter Boylston of the famous Boston family of physicians. A brother, Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, was first in America to successfully use innoculations, over great opposition, in the smallpox epidemic of 1721.

Peter and Ann Boylston settled in Brookline and, in 1709, had a daughter who again graced the name of Susanna and who, in 1734, married Deacon John Adams, bearing him a child, John, in 1735, who in 1797, became second President of the United States. John Quincy Adams was, of course, son of President John Adams and wife, Abigail Smith Adams. He was born in 1767.

Adam Hawkes was thus great, great, great grandfather of John Adams and great, great, great, great grandfather of John Quincy Adams.

John Adams was our first Vice President, serving through both administrations of George Washington, 1789-1797. Previously he was ambassador to France, in 1778, and to England, 1785-1738. He was one of four from Massachusetts to sign the Declaration of Independence. He died on the 50th anniversary of that document, July 4, 1826, at the age of 90.

John Adams was first to occupy the White House, moving in on November 2, 1800. His term ended March, 1801. Inscribed over the fireplace in


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the state dining-room, visitors can see a prayer of dedication he composed that evening. "I pray Heaven to Bestow the best of blessings on this House and All that shall hereafter inhabit it. May none but Honest and Wise Men ever rule under this Roof."

Abigail hung her washing to dry in the East Room, then unfinished. The building was cold and draughty. Preparing for the Christmas Congressional reception she burned 20 cords of wood but could not warm the house, her guests sitting about cold and shivering.

John Quincy Adams, like his father, served one term, ending March. 1829. In 1831 he was elected to the House where he served 16 years, until Feb. 23, 1848, when he collapsed and was carried to the Speakers Chamber, where he died. He was 81.

## ADAM HAWKES AND THE MAYFLOWER

Remember Allerton Maverick was the mother of John Hawkes' first wife, Rebecca. Remember's sister, Mary Allerton Cushman, was mother of his second wife, Sarah. Mary and Remember had accompanied their parents, Isaac and Mary Norris Allerton, on that famous voyage of the Mayflower to Plymouth in 1620. Their mother was a victim of the first hard winter.

Moses Maverick, Rebecca's father, was born in 1611, coming to Plymouth in the early 1620 s, where he met and married Remember. They later removed to Marblehead where Moses died in 1685. Thomas Cushman, father of Sarah, was born the same year as Adam Hawkes, 1608, and came to Plymouth with his father, Robert, in 1621. Robert had made the business arrangements for the original Mayflower voyage, from Leyden, Holland. Robert returned to England, leaving young Thomas in care of Governor William Bradford Thomas married Mary Allerton in 1636, continuing to live in Plymouth until his death in 1691.

## UNDERSTANDING TIIE PURITANS

The Puritans have been termed intolerant, bigoted and narrow. The world from which they came was committed to the dual proposition that the church was and should be all-powerful, that religious faith could and should be implanted through violence and bloodshed.

In Germany, Catholic and Protestant armies warred for thirty years 1618-1648. In France, religious strife and persecutions raged during much of the 16th and 17th Centuries. In Spain, the terrible tortures of the Inquisition were being turned against unbelievers. In the Puritan's homeland religious Civil War flared in 1643, halting the tide of emigration and calling many back to England to fight for the Puritan cause. It would have been most remarkable if none of the germs of this world sickness had become trams planted to America.

## THE 1634 CODE

But the Puritan leaders were aware of the basic cause of the oll World malady. One of the earliest enactments of the Great and (ienern) Coust. the legislature, in 1634, imposed specific limits on church authority. Author Shipton relates that this Code transferred to civil authority power over
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inheritances and probate, authorized civil magistrates to perform marriage and burial services, placed education under civil jurisdiction and forbad eligious persecution. Persons subjected to excommunication were to retain all civil rights even to the holding of public office.

The curbing of church powers to this extent, or to any extent, was, fo: their times, revolutionary. Actually the Puritan Code anticipated by a century and a half the principle of separation of church and state now cherished as one of the most vital provisions of our federal constitution.

## THE 1641 CODE

However, another Code was enacted, in 1641, which failed to carry through this sharp break with the past. It dealt with morals and adopted the harsh principles of Mosaic Law for authority. Among offenses dealt with was witcheraft, with penalties based on three Scriptural passages, Exodus XXII, 18, Leviticus XX, 27 and Deuteronomy XVIII, 10, 11. Part of the Exodus quotation is "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." The other passages are similiarly drastic.

The General Court thus accepted for the colony one of the most tragic manifestations of the ignorance, superstition and fear that had plagued Europe for centuries. Its root was the passionate dread of the masses of the fortures of damnation and the concentration of these fears on individuals, usually women, probably including persons mentally ill, believed in league with the evil one. One authority estimates that, during the 15th to 18th centuries, 300,000 were destroyed in Europe on grounds of witcheraft. There were cases as late as the 1780 s.

For a considerable time the Puritans gave evidence of resisting thi downward pull. True the record was spotty. There was a witcheraft hanging in Boston in 1648 and one in Salem in 1656. Religious fears and hatred were evidenced in the hanging of three Quakers in Boston, in 1659-60. These were tragic and disgraceful events, but so also have been the nearly 5000 lynch ings in America since 1880, without even the color of legality. In the light of their times, the Puritans showed an ability to repress the fanaticism and violence that had been bred into their very bones-until 1692. In the terrible outburst of that year, in Salem, 18 women and one man were hung and many more imprisoned, on charges of witcheraft.

## THE THROWBACK

Whether or not the 1641 Code was invoked as legal justification for the Salem mania is not indicated but it could well have been. The leaders of the colony soon recognized and acknowledged their tragic mistake, and made what retribution was possible. From any angle it was a sad blot on the record. Yet, viewing the period as a whole, especially against the murky darkness of the European scene, Salem could fairly be described as a throwback, or reaction, to the worst aspects of their heritage and environment, a reversal, though temporary, in their persistent, if slow and uneven upward struggle, since 1634 , toward a more tolerant and liberty-loving commonwealth.


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#### Abstract

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[^1]Even before Salem the single church structure was tottering. The first Episcopal church in the colony was founded, in Boston, in 1688. As early as 1719, a quarter-century after Salem, there were ten churches in Boston representing seven denominations, including Quakers and Anabaptists, two sects previously feared or despised. In 1722 Quakers were relieved from taxes imposed to support the church. In 1784 they were granted a privilege previously allowed no other group, the right to maintain church schools. By that time many religious denominations were functioning in New England

## ENDURANCE AND VISION

The Puritan struggle for survival against perils and obstacles of many types was difficult and costly. It called for effort, determination and endurance of high degree. Luckily for us, it succeeded.

Naturally some iron developed in their souls. Under those conditions softies would have given up. Many did indeed return to the Old World. unable or unwilling to take the New.

Like people of all ages the Puritans reflected, in some measure, the influences to which their early lives had been subjected. But, in greater measure, they resisted and ultimately overcame those tyrannical and despotic forces. They lit an enduring, if sometimes faintly burning, beacon of liberty and hope in a world black with hatred, injustice and violence. The seeds they planted, in time, matured into the kind of society we now enjoy and treasure.

Those of us descended from Adam Hawkes, pioneer and Puritan, have a heritage of which to be proud and by which to be inspired to uphold its tradition of service and good citizenship.

ALLERTON - HAWKES MAYFLOWER LINEAGE
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ELDER THOS. CUSHMAN
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MAYFLOWER PASSENGER 1620

MARY ALLERTON


## Supplement

## THE INDIAN FIGHTERS

Author Pope places a John Hawkes in Dorchester in 1634, later removing to Windsor, Conn. Proof is lacking but he might have been a brother of Adam. In 1659 John and family moved up the Connecticut River to Hatfield, Mass., where, in 1661, he was alloted a plot "four acres in depth, 16 rods wide" above Middle Lane.

John died in 1662. Over the period, 1675-1763, 24 of his line were to be involved, of which 13 would perish, in conflicts with Indians or Indians and French. There were five wars in these 88 years the last four of which found the colonists and English allied.

King Phillip's war, 1675-1676, devasted most of Western Massachusetts. In one of four attacks on Deerfield, the Battle of Bloody Brook, Sept. 18. 1675, 65 men, convoying a wagon train of grain, were killed, including the husbands of John's first and third daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and of John's widow, Elizabeth. 'Their names, Robert and Experience Hinsdale and Joseph Gillett.

On May 19, 1676, the colonists and Indians fought at Pocumtuck, near the great falls of the Connecticut. The colonists lost 45 , including Captain William Turner. Two Massachusetts towns were later named to honor these fighters, Hinsdale and Turners Falls.

Both of John's sons, John, Jr. and Eleazer, took part in the Falls Fight, apparently without injury: 'Two weeks later, however, John, Jr., was wounded, helping to repel an attack on Hatfield. And upon returning to his home in Hadley he learned that his wife, Martha, had been killed in a raid on that town, taking place in the interim.

King Philip's War ended August 12, 1676, after Governor John Winthrop marched west with a force of 1000 and destroyed an estimated 4000 Indians. According to one authority, John Hawkes of Saugus, or Lynn, was a member of this force.

But the settlers were never really at peace in that era. Hatfield and Deer: field were attacked again in 1677. A decade later they felt the backlash of King William's War, a conflict between England and France. Loss of life was less than in King Philip's War but property damage heavier. In $170 \%$ another costly conflict broke out, Queen Ann's War. On February 29, 1704/5 Deerfield, was once more attacked, by 250 Indians and French, who killed 49 of the inhabitants and captured 111.

John, Jr., now 61, had remarried and was living in Deerfield, but at the time of the attack was apparently away with the troops. On returning be found his entire family wiped out, Alice, his second wife; son John, born in 1673: the son's wife, Thankful, and their three children, John, Martha and Thankful, ages 3 to 8: and Elizabeth, daughter by his first wife. The Hawkes family toll now stood at 11.

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## THE HERO OF HOOSAC

The Old French War, fourth conflict in this seemingly never-ending struggle, occurred in 1746. Stationed at Fort Massachusetts in Hoosac was another John Hawkes, son of Eleazer and grandson of the pioneer. In command of this fort, one of a series of outposts established to protect frontier towns, was Captain Ephriam Williams, after whom Williamstown and Williams College were later named. In early August Williams received orders to march north for an invasion of Canada. Sergeant Hawkes was left in charge with a squad of 22 men.

At 8:30 a.m. on the 19th, 440 French and 300 Indians, probably aware of the fort's weakened position, launched an attack. Hawkes and his men, refusing the French Commander's demand to surrender, returned fire all das'. The next morning they renewed their resistance but with declining ammunition supply. Non-combatants were set to pouring bullets but then the lead gave out.

At 3:00 p.m., with one man killed, himself wounded and only three rounds of ammunition per man left, Hawkes decided that further resistance was futile, and surrendered, on condition, however, that the women and children who had taken refuge in the fort, not be turned over to the Indians. Accounts differ as to whether this condition was honored. Hawkes himself was taken to. Canada and returned the following year in a prisoner exchange. Incidentally the invasion attempt in which Capt. Williams had participated, failed, as had many betore.

Besides Sergeant John, other Hawkes men under arms between 1740 1760 included John's son, Moses, born in 1737: Eleazer's son, Nathaniel, bern in 1699: Eleazer, Jr.'s sons, John, 1707, Gershom, 1716, Eleazer, 1717, Joshua and Paul: and Nathaniel's sons, Asa and David. Eleazer was killed in the Battle of the Bars, August 25, 1746. The 13th Hawkes casualty was Nathaniel's daughter, Submit, carried off by the Indians in 1755.

## THE STRUGGLE BROADENS

By 1754, when the French and Indian War broke out, the long and bitte: conflict had developed highly critical aspects. French strategy now was to enclose the colonists in a giant pincers movement and drive them into the sea. Canada was the northern prong, Louisiana the southern and western. Teeth of the pincers were six forts commanding major waterways, Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, Niagara on Lake Ontario, Crown Point and Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, William Henry on Lake George, and Duquesne on the Ohio River.

Repeated unsuccessful attempts to break these lines were made by the colonists. In 1754 and 1755 there were attacks on Duquesne in which Colonel George Washington participated, and, in 1755, on Niagara and Crown Point. In 1757, William Henry, previously taken, was recaptured by the French.

In 1758 an all-out effort to destroy the French grip was staged. An army of 50,000 was amassed, commanded by Lord Geoffrey Amherst, who later gave his name to a Western Massachusetts town and college. The troops were divided into three forces; one was to cross Lake Ontario and advance on

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Montreal, one to go up the St. Lawrence River to Quebec and the third down the river to the same objective.

The famous General Wolfe led the assault on Quebec, which fell in 1759. The drive on Montreal was led by General Amherst and one of his commanders was John Hawkes, of Hoosac fame, now a Major. In 1911 the Society of Colonial Wars of New York published Hawkes' journal book describing this campaign. Ticonderoga fell in 1759 and Montreal was taken in 1760. Hawkes retired with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He died in 1789, at the age of 77

France ceded Canada to Britain in 1763, ending the long over-hanging threat to the colony.

## EAST AND WEST

The winning of western America during the 19th Century has been acclaimed in a flood of books and plays. Without detracting from the valor of those pioneers it will hardly do to overlook the even more difficult, prolonged and costly struggle to secure the Atlantic Seaboard which preceded it. This established the Eastern base without which expansion westward or in any other direction, would have been impossible. To this accomplish ment the Hawkes family contributed a full share.

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## BIBLIOGRAPHY



## SPONSORS




Mrs. Dan Murphy Grants Pass, Oregon
Mr. and Mrs. Bradley Hawkes Patterson
Washington, D.C.

## ERRATA

In the chart on page 24, the date of death of Adam Hawkes, born 1664, should be "1694 approximate."

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ADLI HAHHO (1603--1672) His Lifo anu Tines by Bradley Iawkes Patterson, with Lincaje Charts by Mrs. Patterson, (aniz aiatographed by hrs. Pattorson) is a gift from Etinel F. Smith, through the dum Hawkes Pamily Association. It is one oi tho fer romaining copies of the first and only exition of the book. Its author died about a year ago.

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